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FOREIGN IMMIGRATION IN SPAIN: TOWARD MULTI-ETHNIC METROPOLISES

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Foreign immigration in Spain: Toward multi-ethnic metropolises

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Abstract: Foreign immigration is a very recent phenomenon in Spain. Over the last few years, and especially since 2001, there has been strong growth in the number of non-EU immigrants changing the historical characterisation of Spain as a country of emigration, above all in the 1960s and 1970s. As in other countries with a high degree of foreign population, one of the principal consequences has been the transformation of the social structure, with a special focus on the larger cities. In this way, the main metropolises (Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Sevilla, Malaga, Bilbao and Zaragoza) have been the principal areas for the settlement of those migration waves. Between 1999 and 2005, these metropolises have absorbed some 45% of the 3,000,000 immigrants who have arrived in Spain.

This phenomenon has led to these metropolises becoming more diverse over a short time, generating different kinds of problems relating to housing and the residential segregation of such immigrants. This paper seeks to analyse the immigrants' settlement in the main metropolitan areas of Spain and identify the main territorial effects. In order to do this, the paper will focus on the immigrants' settlement in the metropolitan system and the function of central city and the metropolitan cities upon the spatial residential distribution of the immigrants. In order to isolate the recent evolution, the analysis will be restricted to the period 2001-2005.

0. Introduction

When a country starts being the destination for international migration streams and the flows start becoming intense, the immigration phenomenon begins to become a social transformation factor of the host societies. The Spanish case is characterised for having been an emigration country (above all in the 1960s and 1970s) and nowadays is an immigration country. Moreover, in just a few years Spain has moved upwards to join other European countries with higher immigration rates (Arango, 2007). This change started when Spain entered the European Union in the mid-1980s, which supposed an in-depth economic and social restructuring. However this migration change was not unique to Spain and it was due to a general change in the European migration system, which was characterised by the change witnessed in all Southern Europe countries, from being emigration countries to becoming immigration countries (King, 2002; Carella & Pace, 2001; King, Fielding & Black, 1997).

The reasons which explain these changes are related to the economic restructuring that took place in those countries in the 1980s and 1990s, which involved a fast modernisation of their economies and labour markets. King, Fielding and Black (1997) therefore explain that change and its influence on the migration stream ""*(...) to explain the existence of a demand for immigrant labour by analysing the specific socio-economic formation of Southern Europe. Key features of this formation are the strongly represented processes of modernisation, urbanization and tertiarisation, the dynamism to the informal sector, the importance of small-scale enterprises, an enhanced level of education for most young people leading to a rejection of manual work, and a sharply defined conception of social and family prestige reflected in attitudes towards "acceptable" and "unacceptable" types of work"* (King, Fielding & Black, 1997; pp. 9).

The aim of this paper is to describe from an urban perspective, the territorial state of immigration in Spain. In that sense, the objective is to define the current state of immigration in the Spanish urban context. In order to do this, we will make a dynamic comparative analysis about foreigners' settlement in Spain's principal metropolises: Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Sevilla, Bilbao, Malaga and Saragossa. In order to reflect the dynamics which have been produced by the absorption of some 2,300,000 immigrants through this wave, the paper is based on the period 2001-2005.

To carry out this analysis, we will first tackle the debate over the existence of an original ethnic segregation model for EU-Southern cities, followed by a short description of the characteristics of the Spanish metropolises. After that, we will carry out an empirical analysis of the migration process and territorial settlement, to close with the conclusions.

1. An original ethnic segregation model for Southern-EU cities?

One of the main consequences of migrants' arrival to Southern-EU cities has been the transformation, diversification and change of their social geography. This way, the debate about the socio-residential segregation of the ethnic groups is taking relevance in Southern Europe and their cities are being analysed. Moreover, in the same way that some authors have defended the idea about the American segregation models are not valid to understand the states of western European cities (Musterd, 2005; Kempen & Ozuekren, 1998) some authors are defending an original ethnic segregation model for Southern-EU cities as opposed to Wester-EU models (Malheiros, 2002; Arbaci, 2004).

Following Mahleiros (2002) the spatial organization of ethnic groups in Southern-EU cities is different in regard to the western one, due to both a different migration process and different socio-urban contexts. These differences are based on the hand, on a high degree of informality in the access to housing by the immigrants in the south, which generates poorer living conditions and higher vulnerability. On the other hand, residential segregation indices in the

south are smaller in relation to the Western-EU cities. However (as opposed to the idea of *less segregation, more integration*) the reason is that in the Southern-EU cities the settlement complexity is greater due to patterns of diversity among nationalities. Thus, this complexity produces less segregation indices. In the same way, Mahleiros (2004) points out that the social segregation in southern cities is leading to in socio-ethnic segregation, as long as immigrants tend to reproduce their socioeconomic position in the urban social stratification. Thus the author advises that the problem is not the segregation itself, but the coexistence of negative elements such as the exclusion and marginality in the areas where the immigrants are concentrated. Finally, another different feature is that in Southern-EU cities the immigrants are more suburbanized.

On the other hand, Arbaci (2004) takes the structural differences of southern and western societies, as explanatory factors of different residential insertion models in Southern-EU cities. Following her approach, the southern context has some structural factors which facilitate immigrants' insertion. First, one of the factors is the immigrants' diversity feature which generates diverse skills and educational levels, thus, improving the insertion of certain groups in the city. On the other hand, the important presence of translational communities also works as an important inclusion factor. Secondly it is the labour factor related with the facilities to access the labour market. This facility is a consequence for the southern labour markets' characteristics which are a feature for an important cheap labour market and with low productivity as well as an important need for family assistants due to the weak family-care system. Thirdly, the presence of niches of informal labour and housing markets also works as an attraction factor for migration streams, conditioning their settlement patterns.

Arbaci (2004) also points out that the combination of these factors could produce a scattered spatial distribution due to the dispersion of niches of informal labour markets. However it could also produce the contrary process due to the concentration of the informal housing market in some areas, for example, in the inner cities. On the other hand, some ethnics groups (above all those that have particular religious bonds) tend to an aggregative spatial pattern.

Nevertheless, the author says that there are also some structural factors in the southern European societies which inhibit the residential insertion of immigrants. Among these factors is the characteristic of the ideology of the host society for being non-inclusive and having repressive attitudes which produce the irregular immigration and discrimination in the housing market. On the other hand, the labour factor is characterized for being a dual labour market, where the immigrants have access to the worst occupations and often in an irregular way. Moreover some socio-urban processes also have the same exclusion influence, such as the gentrification in inner cities as well as the spatially endogenous upward social mobility in certain working class areas, which makes housing access difficult in those areas. Finally, the housing regime, which reproduces a dualist housing system and is characterized by an imbalance in housing tenure towards owner occupation and residual social housing, also works as an exclusion factor in Southern-EU cities.

With regards to the Spanish case, as the migration phenomenon has been gathering relevance, studies applied to the Spanish cities have started to appear. In this sense, for Barcelona city Bayona (2007), following Malheiros's (2002) and Arbaci's (2004) approaches, concludes that the insertion of immigrants has been similar to that in other Southern-EU cities. For the same city, Fullaondo (2003) and Fullaondo & Roca (2007) identify different settlement patterns for the different nationalities, both, for the degree of segregation and the characteristics of the areas which are settled. In that sense these differences, related to the origin, generate an important pattern of diversity and complexity. On the other hand, with regard to the consequences generated by the immigration, Checa & Arjona (2006) points out that the migration processes have produced the growth of residential segregation. In that sense, for Leal (2007) another consequence is the changing social morphology of Spanish cities, which has an influence over the social cohesion as well as the dynamics and structure of urban spaces.

2. Short description of Spanish metropolises[1]

Metropolitan comparisons are always complex and difficult to make, due to their structure and diverse reality. One of the main problems is the metropolitan delimitation itself. In this sense, different metropolitan delimitation typologies for Spanish metropolises have been carried out, such as the functional delimitation through an INTERREG-IIC project (CPSV, 2001). However, for this paper we have taken the delimitation carried out by the Spanish Ministry of Housing (2004) which is based upon the administrative delimitation of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Sevilla, Bilbao, Malaga and Zaragoza.

Although both delimitations are different, the characterization has been done by the INTERREG-IIC project (CPSV, 2001) is valid for a short description of the main features of the urban areas. Thus, Madrid is the main metropolis, both in population and economic activity as well as its being the political capital of Spain. Located in the centre of the country, its metropolitan structure is featured for being monocentric, therefore the central city has a dominant role over the metropolitan system.

Barcelona is the second metropolis, both in population and economic activity. Located in the north of Mediterranean coast, its structure is the more similar to the model of *city of cities*, due to the central city not having a dominant position and the metropolitan cities playing an important role.

Valencia is the third metropolis in population terms, but its economic activity is not one of the more important. Located in centre of the Mediterranean coast, its structure is featured for a dominance of the central city and its surroundings.

Sevilla is the fourth metropolis in population terms, although its economic activity is one of the smallest. Located in the south, its structure is characterized by a relative dominance of the central city.

Bilbao is the fifth metropolis in inhabitants; however its economic activity lies above the Spanish average. Located in the north, its structure is featured for less importance of the central city and a relevant dominance of the periphery.

Malaga is the sixth metropolis in population terms and its economic activity is one of the smallest. Located on the south coast, its structure is characterized by the central city's predominance. However, for this case it is necessary to highlight the importance of the residential tourism in the metropolitan coastal municipalities, where Europeans tend to establish their residence.

Finally, Zaragoza is the metropolis with the lowest population. Located in the north-east, its metropolitan structure is characterized by the central city's absolute dominance, both in population terms and territorial extension.

[1] The maps of each metropolises are in the appendix

3. Migration flows: evolution and trends

The different evolution, intensity and settlement patterns in the process of immigration in the Spanish metropolises have generated significant changes between 2001 and 2005. In 2001, these metropolises could be classified in three groups, with regard to the percentage of foreigners: Malaga, Madrid and to a lesser degree Barcelona, had a larger percentage of foreign population than the whole of Spain. On the other hand, in Valencia and Zaragoza the percentage was below that for the whole of Spain, meanwhile Bilbao and Sevilla were at the bottom of this hierarchy.

Table 1. Number and % of all population by nationalities. 2001-2005

Metropolis	Nationality	2001		2005		Δ (%) 2001-2005
		n	%	n	%	
Madrid	Spanish	4,804,578	94.27	4.874.119	86.85	-7.42
	Foreigners	292,125	5.73	738.189	13.15	7.42
	Total	5,096,703	100.00	5.612.308	100.00	
Barcelona	Spanish	4,218,000	96.13	4,236,390	88.86	-7.27
	Foreigners	169,734	3.87	530,867	11.14	7.27
	Total	4,387,734	100.00	4,767,257	100.00	
Valencia	Spanish	1,332,936	97.70	1,352,643	91.80	-5.90
	Foreigners	31,349	2.30	120,813	8.20	5.90
	Total	1,364,285	100.00	1,473,456	100.00	
Sevilla	Spanish	1,163,662	99.06	1,193,584	97.53	-1.52
	Foreigners	11,088	0.94	30,198	2.47	1.52
	Total	1,174,750	100.00	1,223,782	100.00	
Bilbo	Spanish	894,518	98.80	874,123	96.77	-2.03
	Foreigners	10,842	1.20	29,185	3.23	2.03
	Total	905,360	100.00	903,308	100.00	
Malaga	Spanish	718,519	93.71	754,437	88.09	-5.62
	Foreigners	48,223	6.29	101,965	11.91	5.62
	Total	766,742	100.00	856,402	100.00	
Saragossa	Spanish	617,182	97.69	620,921	92.07	-5.62
	Foreigners	14,583	2.31	53,492	7.93	5.62
	Total	631,765	100.00	674,413	100.00	
Spain	Spanish	39,746,185	96.67	40,377,920	91.54	-5.12
	Foreigners	1,370,657	3.33	3,730,610	8.46	5.12
	Total	41,116,842	100.00	44,108,530	100,00	

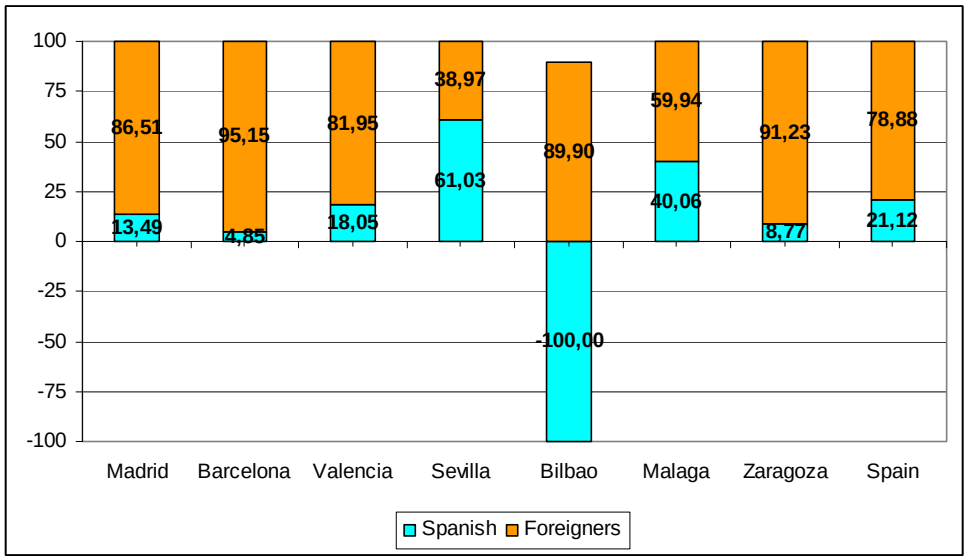
Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

In 2005, after the absorption of the main part of the immigration wave, this overall hierarchy has been maintained, although there have been some changes and interesting trends: Firstly, Malaga, Madrid and Barcelona have maintained their position as the metropolises with the largest percentage of foreign population, however now Madrid has the largest percentage and Barcelona has a greater prominence compared with 2001. Secondly, Valencia and Zaragoza continue as the second group but now the foreigners' percentage is marginally smaller than the whole Spain. Finally, Sevilla and Bilbao remain at the bottom of this hierarchy, with the smallest percentage of foreigners.

The explanation for those trends is the different processes of immigration in each metropolis: Madrid and Barcelona have been the areas where the foreigner percentage has grown most (more than 7%), and that has led to Madrid being the metropolis with the largest percentage of

foreigners and it has increased Barcelona's prominence. On the other hand, Malaga, Valencia and Zaragoza have risen in the same way as the whole of Spain (5%), meanwhile Sevilla and Bilbao have had the smallest growth.

Figure 1. Demographic growth % by nationalities. 2001-2005



Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

In addition to these different trends, the demographic impact generated by immigration also has been different. This way, one of the main consequences of immigration in Spain, has been an intense demographic growth, specifically 78.88% of this growth between 2001 and 2005 has been as a result of immigration and only 21.12% from nationals. For metropolises, Barcelona and Zaragoza have been the most extreme cases, with more than 90% of their demographic growth having been as a result of immigration, follow by Madrid and Valencia with more than 80% meanwhile in Malaga and Sevilla the impact has been less important, with less than 60% of growth. The case of Bilbao is different due to it having been the only metropolis which has lost population, although the immigration has countered that overall loss by 89.9%.

Overall, the trends seen until now show the different role played by each metropolis in the absorption of migration flows. Table 2 shows the percentage of all immigrants that have arrived to Spain between 2001-2005 and that have been absorbed by each metropolis. Thus, while 43.51% of the immigrants have settled in those metropolises there are key differences related to the continental origin: the main metropolises are more attractive for Asians (73%) and Americans (51%) than for Africans (38%) and Europeans (32%).

These differences highlight the different features among migration flows. Asians and Americans are more *urban* flows, while Africans and Europeans are more *rural*. The explanation for this is related to the access to the labour market; Africans and Europeans have more opportunities for rural employment, while Asians and Americans are specialised more in employment in services, manufacturing and the building industry..

Table 2. Immigration flow absorption (%) by metropolis. 2001-2005

	Foreigner	Europe	Africa	America	Asia
Madrid	18.90	16.08	11.56	23.41	22.03
Barcelona	15.30	8.37	16.93	17.62	41.92
Valencia	3.79	2.87	3.22	4.61	4.97
Sevilla	0.81	0.44	0.99	1.00	1.29
Bilbo	0.78	0.34	0.69	1.15	0.88
Malaga	2.28	2.82	2.62	1.82	1.32
Saragossa	1.65	1.65	2.27	1.44	1.56
Metropolis	**43.51**	**32.57**	**38.27**	**51.04**	**73.98**

Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

However, the absorption capacity of each metropolis is determined by its size, moreover being the factor that determinate its attraction capacity. This way, the absorption percentages of each metropolis clearly shows the *entrance door function* of Madrid and Barcelona, which have the largest percentages. However they do not play the same function for all origins: Madrid is the main destination for European flows (16.08%) and Barcelona for Asians (41.92%) and Africans (16.93%), meanwhile for Americans both are important but Madrid is significantly greater.

In addition to this overall absorption and in order to know what kind of migration flows have been attracted by each metropolis independent of it capacity, the absorption coefficient highlights what flows have arrived with more or less intensity to each metropolis. In that sense, taking as normal *intensity* the absorption percentage of all foreigners, when the coefficient is larger than 1 this means that this flow is specialized in that metropolis, and when it is less than 1 there is no such specialisation.

Table 3. The migration flow absorption coefficient by metropolises

	Foreigner	Europe	Africa	America	Asia
Madrid	1.00	0.85	0.61	1.24	1.17
Barcelona	1.00	0.55	1.11	1.15	2.74
Valencia	1.00	0.76	0.85	1.22	1.31
Sevilla	1.00	0.55	1.22	1.23	1.59
Bilbo	1.00	0.43	0.89	1.48	1.14
Malaga	1.00	1.24	1.15	0.80	0.58
Saragossa	1.00	1.00	1.38	0.87	0.95

Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

Table 3 shows the results of this coefficient and indicates a clear differentiation between origins: while the migration flows from Asia and America are more specialised in the metropolises (the coefficient is >1 in all with the exception of Malaga and Zaragoza) the European flows represent the opposite settlement pattern, only being specialised in Malaga and Zaragoza. On the other hand, the African flow has an intermediate position, being specialised in Barcelona, Sevilla, Malaga and Zaragoza.

4. The settlement patterns

The migration flows analysis has clarified the immigration diversity in Spanish metropolises. It also produces different immigration processes in each area: the impact and transformation is different and one of these differences lies in the territorial patterns. Now we will analyse foreigners' settlement patterns and their evolution for 2001 and 2005 from a comparative metropolitan approach. As with all metropolitan comparisons, it is necessary to identify the methodological limitation, due to the urban and social complexity of each metropolis. In than sense, in order to standardise and systematise this comparison, firstly, the analysis will be made from a centre-periphery approach, or in other words, we will place the focus over the role of the central city and the urban peripheries in the settlement, and secondly, the analysis will check the role of the large, medium and small metropolitan cities in the distribution.

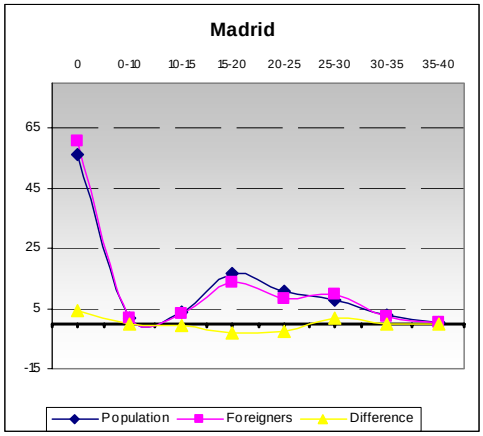
The role of the central city and the urban peripheries

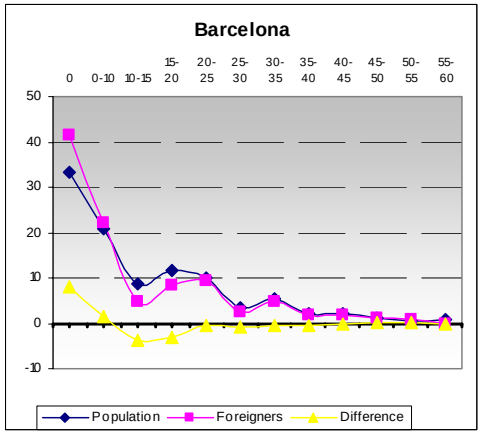
The central city plays the same *entrance door* role in a metropolitan system as well as the large urban areas for the international migration streams in a country. The central city (or the capital), tends to absorb the largest number of immigrants; however the process of evolution could produce decentralisation trends towards the metropolitan periphery. In that sense for the Spanish urban context it is necessary to pay attention to this question, due to the large cities within the metropolitan peripheries of Spain, in many cases representing the *working class* areas which were developed in the 1960s and 1970s. Overall those cities have suffered, to a higher degree, the social and economic consequences of economic restructuring at the end of the 1970s and 1980s, with some of them falling into deprive and becoming marginalized areas *(*Institut de Batxillerat Barri Besos, 1994*)*. However, over the last decade due to economic growth the situation has improved, but nowadays the immigration supposes a new social challenge that is transforming the social reality of those areas.

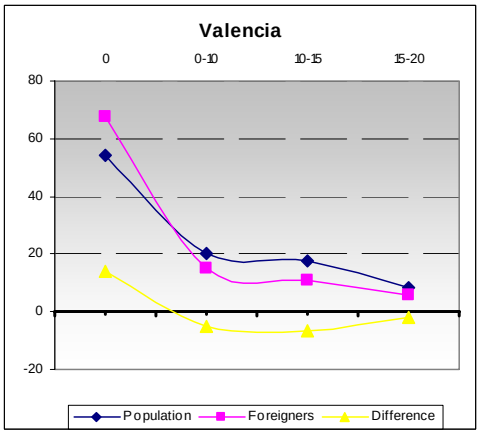
Figures A-G show for 2005 the total population (%) and foreigners distribution for each metropolis and the difference between both. They are based on municipality groups according to the distance to the central city. The comparative analysis point out three different settlement patterns: firstly, Sevilla, Valencia and Bilbao are the metropolises where the central city has a clear over representation of foreigners and clear under-representation in the periphery; secondly, Madrid, Barcelona and Zaragoza are the metropolises with the most similar distribution of foreigners with regard to the total population, but with an over representation of the central city; and lastly, Malaga is the only metropolis where the periphery is over represented and the central city under-represented.

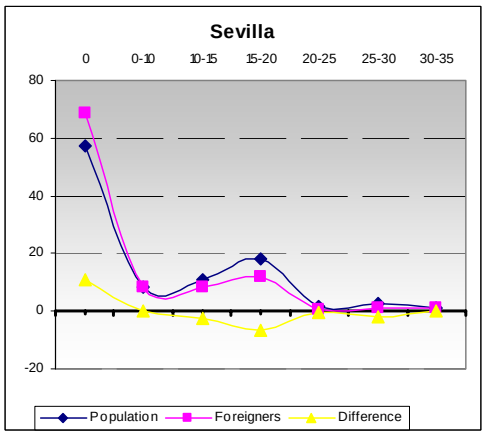
Furthermore looking at the 2005 state, the evolution between 2001 and 2005 provides an idea about the immigration territorial trends for each metropolis. Analysing and comparing the tendency line for each case in the Figures H-N, points out three different trends: on the one hand in Madrid and Valencia the immigrants' arrival has produced a decentralization of foreigners' distribution, characterised by the loss of prominence in the central city and growth in the periphery; on the other hand in Barcelona and Bilbao, a slow down has been produced in decentralisation, featured by the loss of prominence of the central city and most peripheral areas, and growth in the surrounding cities to the capital. Finally, in Sevilla, Zaragoza and Malaga a centralisation dynamic has been produced, featured by the growth in the prominence of the central city in detriment to the periphery.

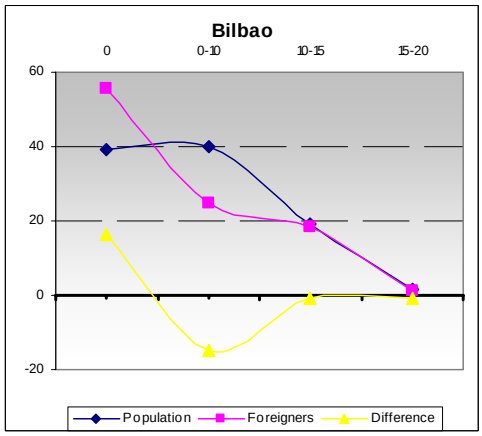
Figures A-G. Population distribution (%) by nationality based on the distance (km) to the central city. 2005

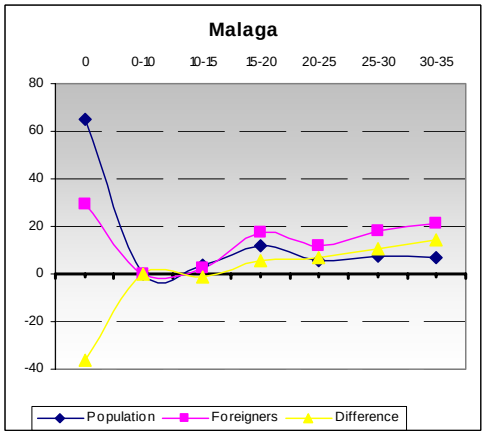


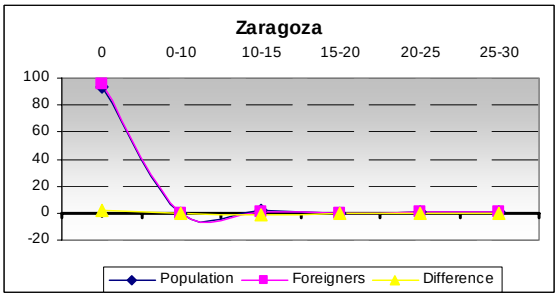






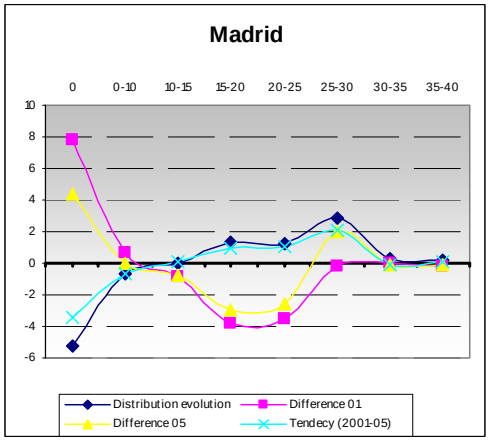


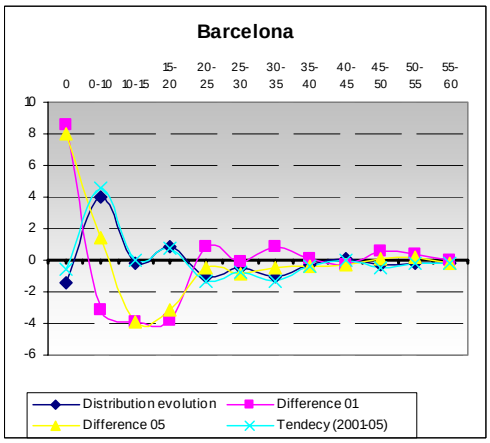


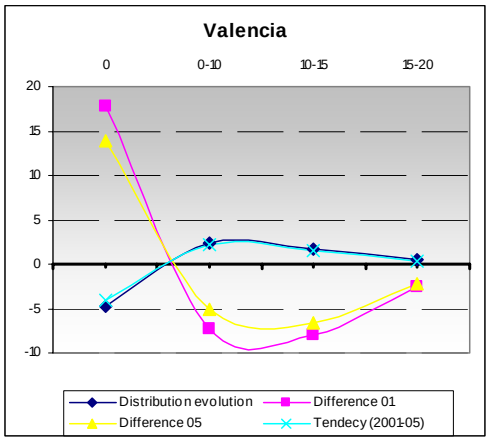


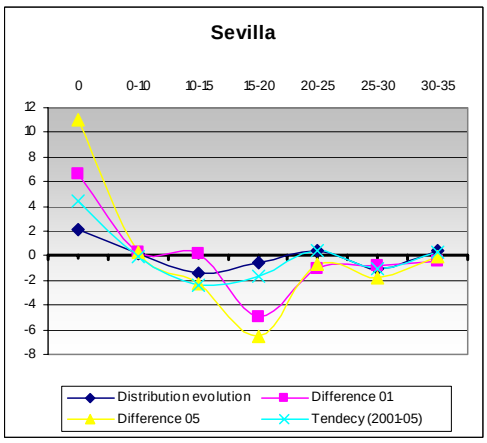
Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

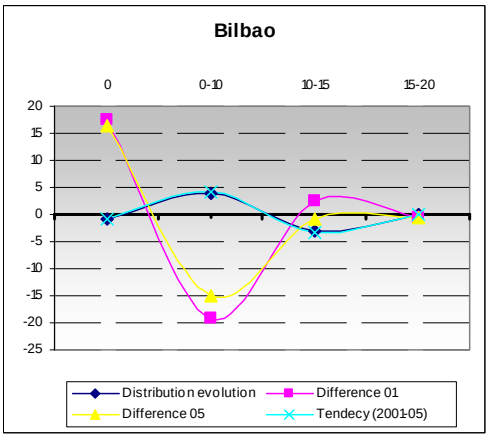
Figures H-N. Foreigners distribution evolution and distribution differences Population-Foreigners based on the distance (km) central city. 2001-2005

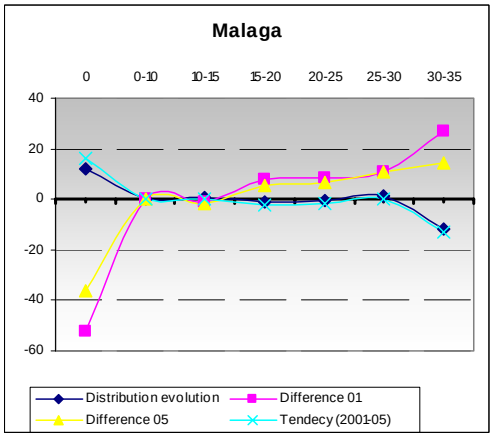


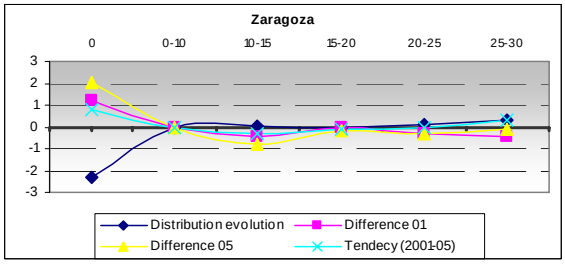












Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

In addition to the tendencies shown by the distribution graphs, the centrality coefficient[2] gives a standard overview of the degree of centrality of each distribution. At the same time, it allows for the possible comparison between the different metropolises independently of their territorial structures. This coefficient is based on a 0-100 scale, where 0 represent maximum decentralisation and 100 maxim centralization. Table 4 shows the results of the degree of centrality of the whole population, all foreigners and different continental origins, for 2001 and 2005 as well as the evolution over that time.

Table 4. Centrality coefficient by continental origins

Metropolis	Year	Population	Foreigners	Africans	Americans	Asians	Europeans
Madrid	2001	83.85	86.78	77.50	91.06	91.61	81.28
	2005	82.84	83.77	74.20	88.75	90.97	76.44
	Δ 01-05	**-1.01**	**-3.01**	**-3.29**	**-2.31**	**-0.64**	**-4.84**
Barcelona	2001	81.81	82.60	73.09	89.14	92.72	80.43
	2005	81.09	83.57	72.93	86.89	92.00	82.48
	Δ 01-05	**-0.73**	**0.97**	**-0.17**	**-2.25**	**-0.72**	**2.05**
Valencia	2001	79.26	87.48	84.63	91.58	90.98	82.08
	2005	78.91	85.49	81.07	88.77	91.08	80.39
	Δ 01-05	**-0.36**	**-1.99**	**-3.56**	**-2.81**	**0.10**	**-1.69**
Sevilla	2001	87.39	90.61	90.24	91.38	95.91	89.13
	2005	86.76	91.17	90.67	91.39	96.20	89.72
	Δ 01-05	**-0.63**	**0.56**	**0.43**	**0.01**	**0.28**	**0.59**
Bilbao	2001	77.32	81.08	91.30	82.85	78.15	72.92
	2005	77.22	81.92	89.57	82.17	79.91	76.34
	Δ 01-05	**-0.09**	**0.83**	**-1.73**	**-0.68**	**1.76**	**3.42**
Malaga	2001	86.99	51.37	76.51	69.72	65.72	43.09
	2005	85.14	61.87	79.26	76.08	64.06	51.15
	Δ 01-05	**-1.85**	**10.50**	**2.75**	**6.36**	**-1.67**	**8.06**
Saragossa	2001	98.15	98.92	99.42	99.33	99.55	97.18
	2005	95.40	96.70	99.32	99.27	99.67	96.78
	Δ 01-05	**-2.75**	**-2.22**	**-0.10**	**-0.06**	**0.12**	**-0,40**

Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

Taking the whole population centrality coefficient as the degree of *normal* centrality, in 2005 for all the metropolises with the exception of Malaga, the distribution of foreigners has been more centralized. However, placing attention over the evolution from 2001, the results show how in all cases the total population distributions tend to have been decentralised, while for foreigners that tendency has only taken place in Madrid, Valencia and Zaragoza. In Barcelona, Bilbao, Sevilla and Malaga the tendency has been the opposite.

The degree of centrality also changes between the origins; however, each continental origin does not display the same patterns for all the metropolises. Africans have a higher degree of centrality in Bilbao, Sevilla and Valencia, meanwhile in the other metropolises the corresponding centrality is less. On the other hand, Americans and Asians are more centralised

[2] Centrality Coefficient→ CC = $\sum (PCn / PCt)$ x Cn

- PCt = Foreigners in the metropolis
- PCn = Foreigners in the municipality
- Cn = Centrality coefficient of municipality
- coefficient is based on a 0-100 scale, where 0 represent maximum decentralisation and 100 maxim centralization

in Barcelona, Madrid, Bilbao, Sevilla, and Valencia, with Europeans more centralised in Barcelona, Sevilla and Valencia. In short, this diversity makes it difficult to define general settlement patterns based on the foreigners' origin with regard to centrality.

Taking the same approach but from a metropolitan perspective, the results also point out some differences: in Valencia, Sevilla and Zaragoza all the foreigners' groups have a higher degree of centrality than all the population distribution, meanwhile in Malaga the reality is the opposite. On the other hand, in Barcelona all the origins are more centralized with the exception of the Africans. In Madrid the exceptions are the Africans and Europeans, and meanwhile in Bilbao it is only the Europeans. In summary, these different patterns make it impossible make generalisations about the degree of centrality of the immigrant distribution.

The role of the large, medium and small metropolitan cities

As mentioned previously, the migration dynamics in the Spanish metropolises between 2001 and 2005 have not been homogeneous; in some cases the distribution patterns have been decentralised and in other cases they have been centralised. Therefore, it is necessary to ascertain whether those decentralization processes have been produced in the large metropolitan cities or on the contrary in the medium and small cities.

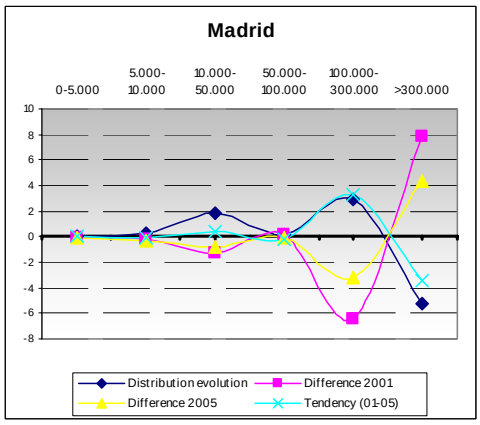
Figures O-U show the differences between the whole population and the foreigners' distribution (%) for 2001 and 2005, based on groupings of municipalities according to their demographic size. The tendency line indicates differences in the evolution, describing the migration dynamic throughout that period.

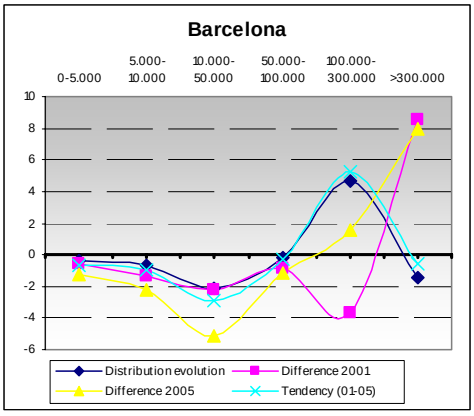
Taking the metropolises where a slow down process has been produced in the decentralization and the central cities have not lost prominence, the graphs show that for Barcelona an aggregative pattern in big metropolitan cities has taken place to the detriment of the medium and small cities. Taking the tendency line, it shows how the cities of between 100,000-300,000 inhabitants are which growth meanwhile the cities with less than 50.000 are those which are decreasing. On the contrary, in Bilbao the tendency is different, due to the large metropolitan cities (50,000-100,000 inhabitants) having experienced a marginal decrease, while the medium cities, which are the ones which are growing, however are still under-represented.

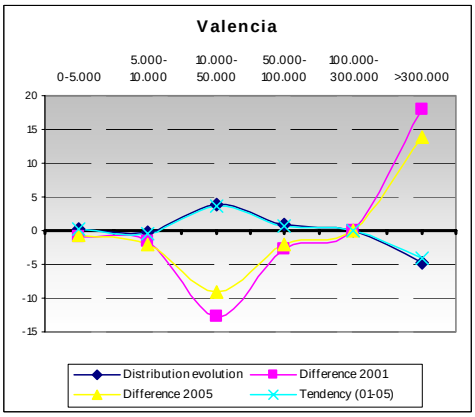
On the other hand, in the metropolises where the decentralisation of foreigners has indeed taken place, in Madrid as well as in Valencia, the central cities have lost prominence while the large and medium metropolitan cities have grown. In Madrid the decentralization has moved above all towards the large cities (100,000-300,000 inhabitants) and also, albeit to a lesser degree, to the medium cities (10,000-50,000 inhabitants). However, in both cases those cities still maintain an under- representation of foreigners, with regard to the percentage of the total population that is settled there. In Valencia, the dynamics have been similar with the growth of the medium cities (10,000-50,000 inhabitants), although they are still under-represented.

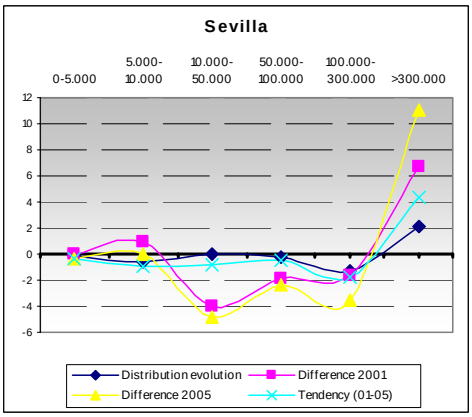
Sevilla and Malaga are two metropolises which have tended towards centralization in the central cities. In both cases, that tendency has occurred to the detriment of the rest of the cities, independent of the city size. On the other hand, the case of Zaragoza is peculiar due to the fact that although the central city has lost prominence in the distribution of foreigners, the tendency is positive. This result has occurred due to the decentralization of the whole population having been more intense than that of the foreigners, so the difference between both points out that the foreigners' difference with regard to the overall population has grown.

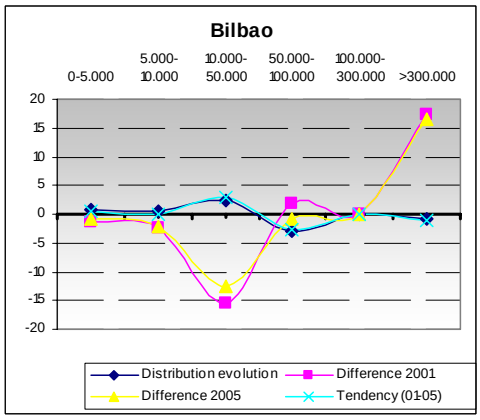
Figures O-U. Foreigners distribution evolution and Population-Foreigners distribution differences by city size. 2001-2005

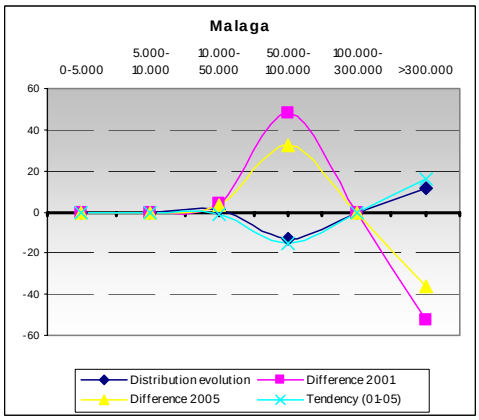


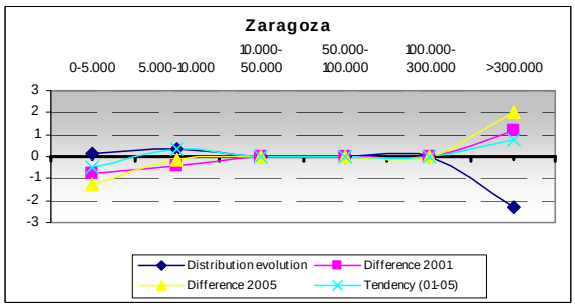












Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

5. Conclusions

The objective of this paper has been to define the current state of immigration in the Spanish urban context. In this sense, the analysis has highlighted the diversity of the migration phenomenon in Spain, both related to the state of each metropolis and the behaviour of each migration flow. Thus, it is not possible to define a single migration state in Spain due to the characteristics and the intensity of the changes experienced in accordance with the metropolitan area.

The evolution of the migration flows has indicated that Madrid and Barcelona have been the two largest *entrance doors* of the current migration wave. However, despite this logical outcome according to their role as the largest urban areas in Spain, we have identified a metropolitan migration hierarchy: on the one hand, Madrid, Barcelona and Malaga are the main immigration metropolises; however, Malaga has an original state due to its migration state being related to European residential tourism. On the other hand, Valencia and Zaragoza are the emergent immigration metropolises due to the intensity of the migration flows towards those areas. Finally, Sevilla and Bilbao are the areas where the immigration process has been less relevant and intense. The influence which the immigration process has had over the metropolitan demographic growth also is related to this hierarchy. In Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Zaragoza more than 80% of the demographic growth between 2001 and 2005 has been due to the arrival of immigrants.

Nevertheless, the differences in the evolution are not exclusive for the metropolises. The different continental flows also behave in different ways and are located in the metropolises in different ways: Firstly, Madrid represents the principal destination for European flows, and Barcelona is the principal destination for flows from Africa and Asia, while both Madrid and Barcelona are the principal destination for American flows. Secondly, the absorption coefficient has shown how American and Asian flows are of a more *urban* nature, while Europeans are more *rural* due to the lower intensity of flows towards large urban areas. However, for Africans the pattern is not clear. The main factor which produces this differentiation between the *rural* and *urban* is related to the typology of employment that the immigrants can obtain. There is a clear differentiation between a rural labour market (agriculture) and an urban labour market (services, industry or building industry).

The settlement analysis has also shown up the diversity of patterns, for both the metropolises and the continental origin. Thus, it has identified three main metropolitan settlement patterns: On the one hand, the areas which have a clear over-representation of immigrants in the central city (Sevilla, Valencia and Bilbao), and on the other hand the areas where the immigrants' settlement is more similar with regarding to the overall population distribution, but with a meaningful over representation of the central city (Madrid, Barcelona and Zaragoza); and finally, the case of Malaga, which is the only metropolis with a clear over-representation of the periphery. The centralization coefficients have shown the differences of each continental origin as a function of the metropolises.

However, the migration wave between 2001 and 2005 has produced different metropolitan dynamics. In some cases the settlement has centralised (Sevilla, Malaga and Zaragoza) while in others it has produced a slow down of decentralisation (Barcelona and Bilbao) and in others it has decentralised (Madrid and Valencia). In this sense, in Madrid and Valencia the decentralisation of the immigrants has tended toward the large and medium metropolitan cities, while in Barcelona it has tended toward the large surrounding cities and in Bilbao toward the medium-sized surrounding cities. On the other hand, in Sevilla and Malaga the centralization has been produced to the detriment of the all the peripheral cities, while the case of Zaragoza is special due to its metropolitan characteristics.

The main conclusion concerning the current state of immigration in the Spanish urban context is that of the patterns of diversity, both for the metropolises and continental origins. The dynamics of recent years have produced different typologies of settlement models, according to each metropolis and to the origin of the immigrants, indicating different behaviour according to the metropolis where they have settled. Therefore, from a metropolitan perspective it is not possible to define a general settlement model for the Spanish urban context. However, it is important to point to the increase in the predominance of the peripheries, above all in Madrid and Barcelona as emergent settlement areas of immigration. Also it is important to keep in perspective the evolution of Valencia and Zaragoza as new immigration areas, while for Bilbao and Sevilla it is possible that the migration process will develop more slowly.

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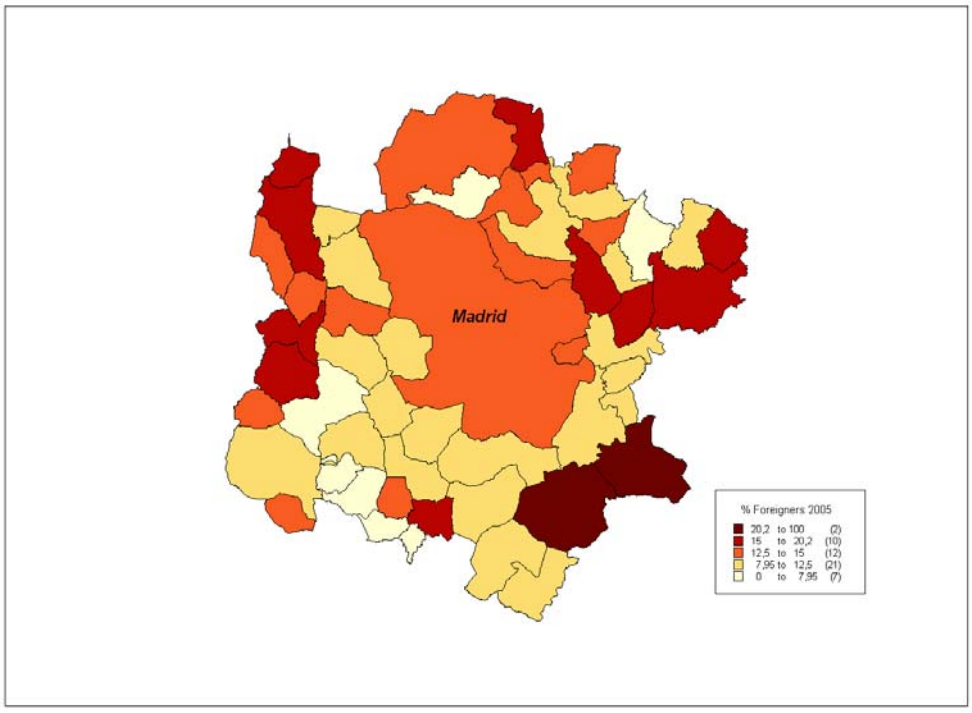
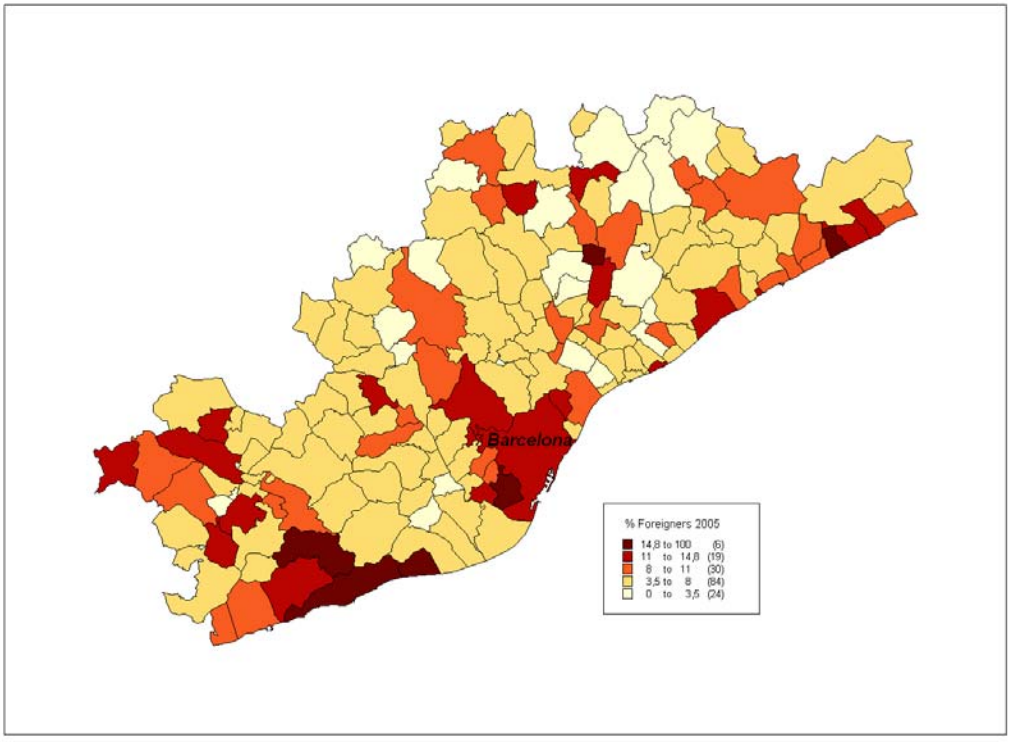
Appendix

Map 1. Foreginer % of all population. Metropolitan Area of Madrid. 2005



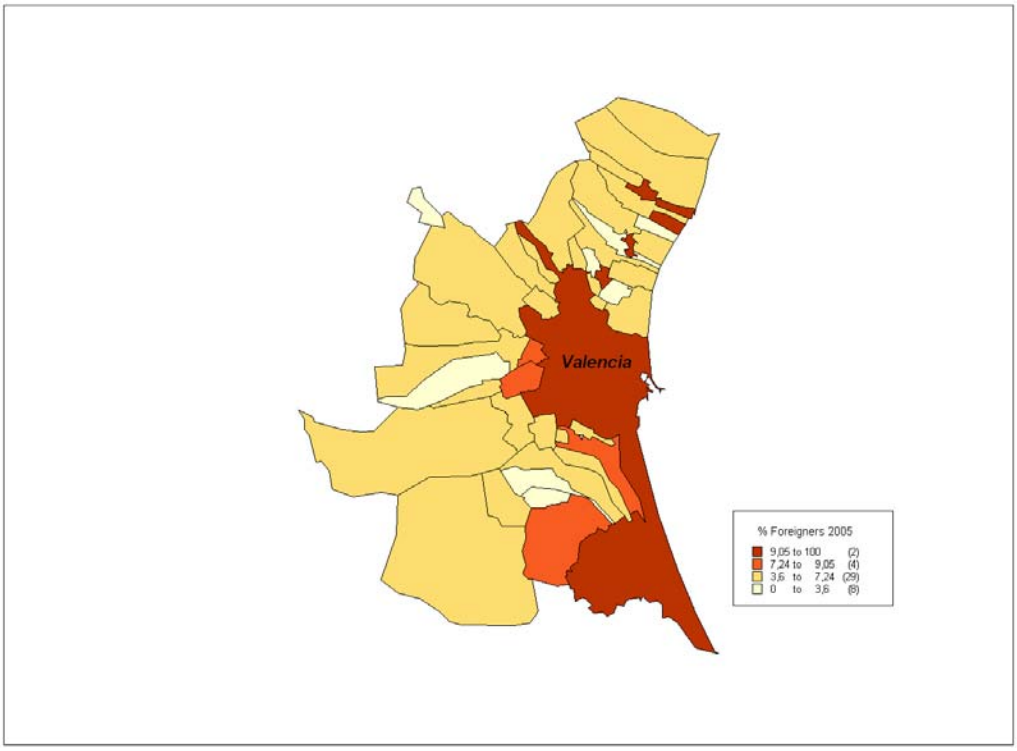
Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

Map 2. Foreginer % of all population. Metropolitan Area of Barcelona. 2005



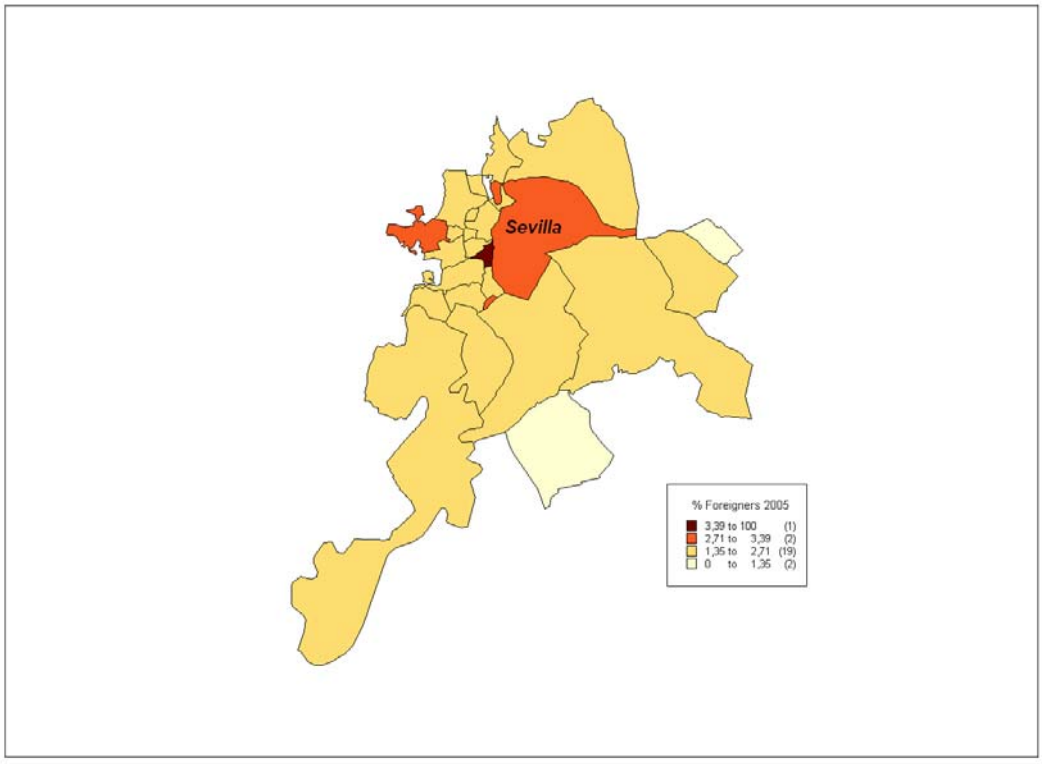
Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

Map 3. Foreginer % of all population. Metropolitan Area of Valencia. 2005



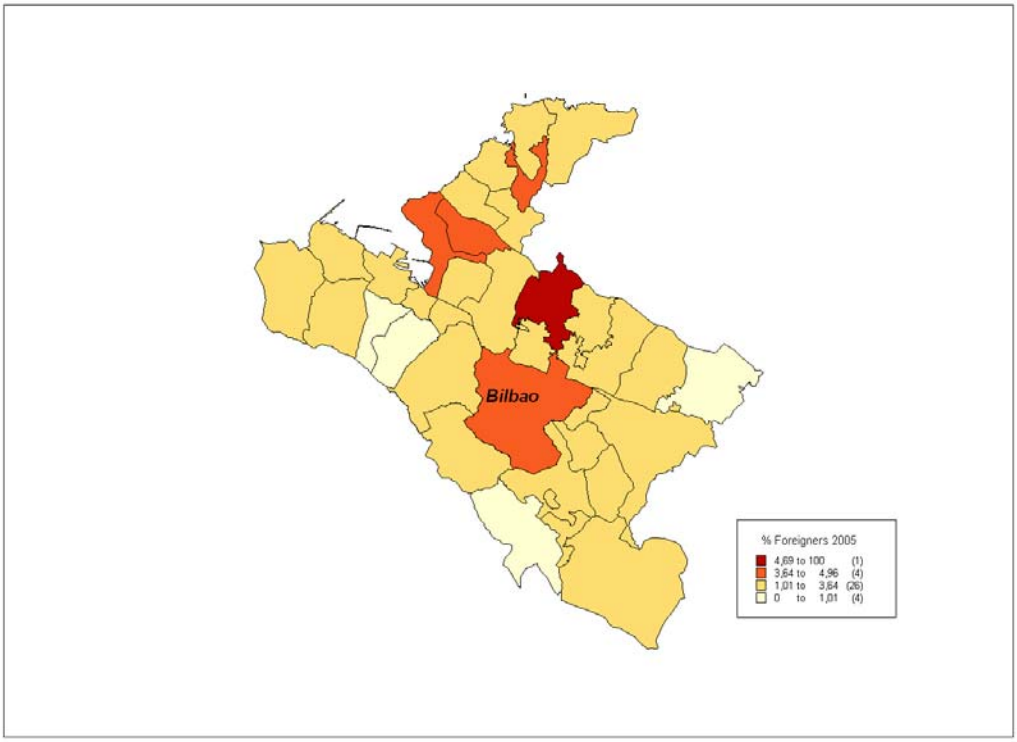
Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

Map 4. Foreginer % of all population. Metropolitan Area of Sevilla. 2005



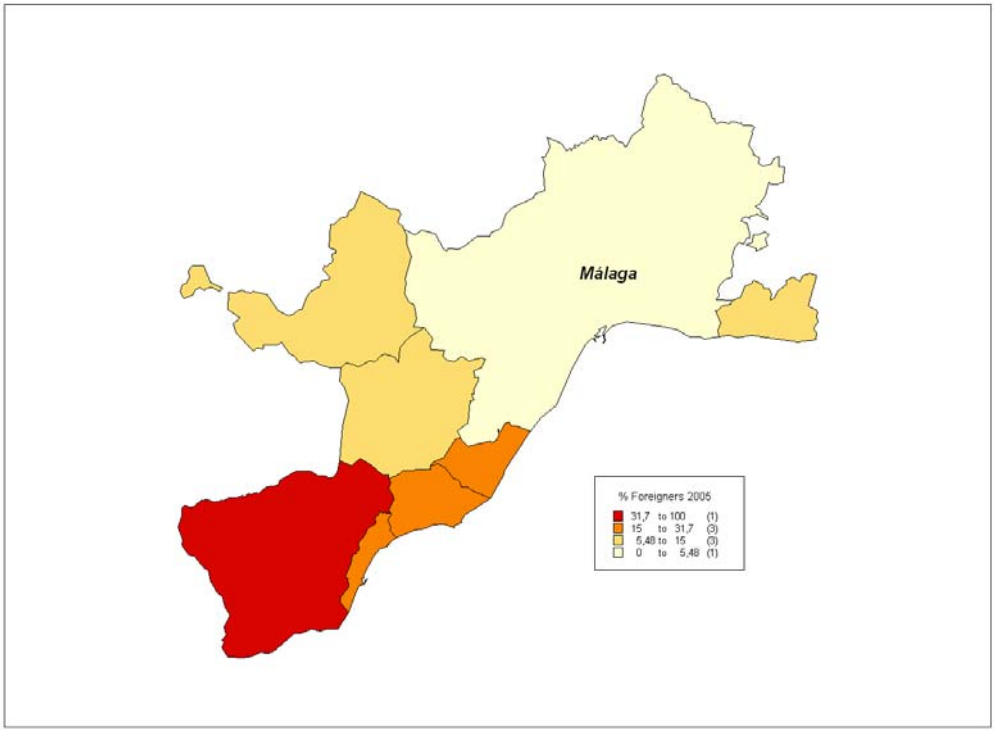
Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

Map 5. Foreginer % of all population. Metropolitan Area of Bilbao. 2005



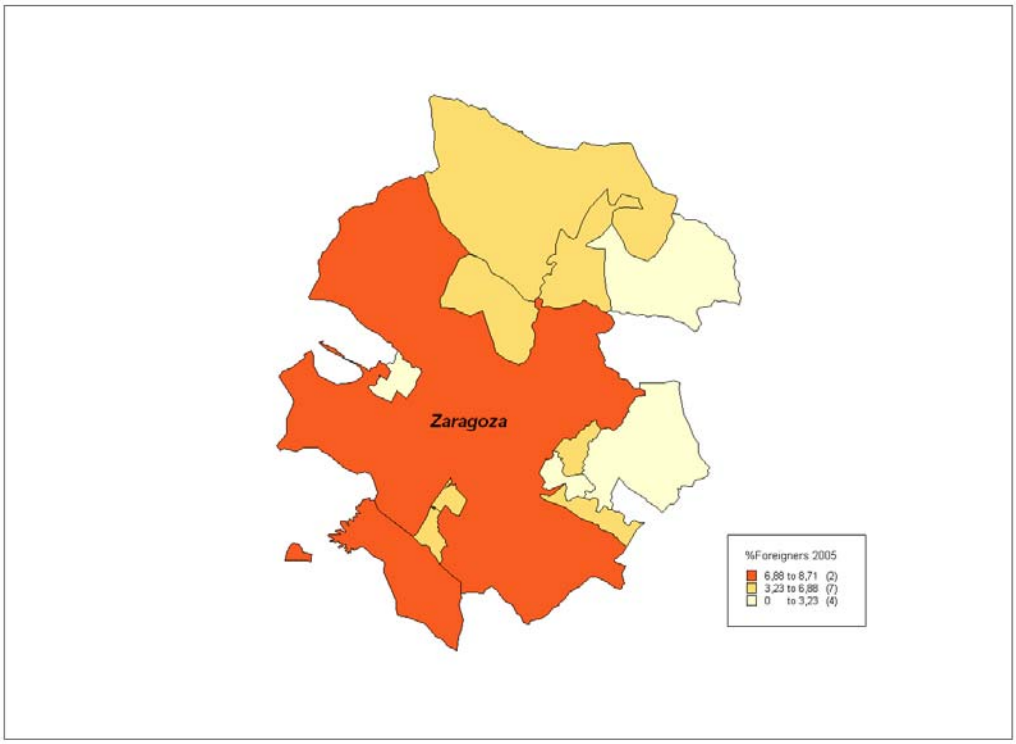
Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

Map 1. Foreginer % of all population. Metropolitan Area of Malaga. 2005



Source: INE. Elaborate by the author

Map 7. Foreginer % of all population. Metropolitan Area of Zaragoza. 2005



Source: INE. Elaborate by the author